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AN APPRAISAL OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PRINCIPLES

IN ACTION IN A SPECIFIC PROGRAM:

A Red Cross Swimming Instruction and Leadership
Training Program in the Northwest Territories,
Canada

by

WALTER JOSEF SCOTT



A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF MASTER OF ARTS

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1972

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled "An Appraisal of Community Development Principles in Action in a Specific Program," submitted by Walter Josef Scott in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to test Community Development principles in the light of action taken by the Canadian Red Cross Society in the implementation of its Alberta - Northwest Territories Red Cross Water Safety and Native Leadership Training Programs.

The study reveals that of the twenty principles that were dealt with, fifteen had been adhered to quite closely, five were implemented to a lesser degree and two were hardly followed at all.

Particular attention was given to the problem of the value of these principles in the development of indigenous responsibility and leadership.

That the principles adhered to were to a large extent functional is evidenced by the fact that today, after a period of about seven years, eight of thirteen portable pools in the Northwest Territories are being operated by indigenous leaders.

It is also noteworthy that none of the Red Cross Water Safety leaders trained in this program are presently unemployed or on welfare. All occupy relatively responsible positions in their respective communities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As Field Officer II in the Western Arctic, a study of this nature could not have been written without the encouragement, direction, and never-tiring assistance of Dr. C. A. S. Hynam. I am grateful to Dr. A. S. A. Mohsen for his suggestions and stimulating years at the University of Alberta. The constructive criticism of Professor H. Roberts was much appreciated.

A special word of thanks goes to Miss C. Arends, my official typist.

I would also like to thank Mr. A. G. Gilmet, Director of the Alberta - N.W.T. Water Safety Division, who not only sent me North, but greatly encouraged the writing of this thesis.

To my fellow classmates, and especially to Dr. George Kupfer, I would like to express appreciation for two valuable and stimulating years.

Last but not least, I am in debt to the Indian and Eskimo youngsters in the settlements along the Mackenzie River who slept all day and trained under the midnight sun for their Red Cross Awards.

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Jan Mona, who often acts as a crutch in the stormy field of Community Development in the Arctic. Without her encouragement, patience, and "nagging", this thesis would not have been written.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to appraise Community Development principles in action as applied by the Canadian Red Cross Society, Alberta-N.W.T. Division, in its programs for swimming instruction and training of indigenous leaders. The nature of the Canadian Red Cross Society's instructional Water Safety Service Program is analysed, the advantages and limitations of various leadership training techniques described, and the effective use of local initiative in leadership training considered. An effort has also been made to estimate how the Canadian Red Cross Water Safety Program could have benefitted if certain Community Development principles had been followed or more strictly adhered to.

This exercise not only examines the organization structure of the Canadian Red Cross Water Safety Service Program within which Native leadership training takes place, but leads to suggestions for the modification or amplification of some of their well-established principles and even to the tentative enunciation of some new ones.

The following are brief introductory notes on the Northwest Territories, its people and the Canadian Red Cross Society.

THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

The Land

The name 'Northwest Territories' has identified the receding Canadian frontier for almost a century. The southern regions of the original Northwest Territories have long since grown into thriving

provinces and today the frontier begins at the 60th parallel. The settlement of the frontier was accompanied by the growth of greater political responsibility among its residents. This process has been common of the southern parts of the country at an earlier stage of their development, varying only in the time and manner of its accomplishment.

The Northwest Territories are immense - a land of great variety and often bizarre contrasts with mountains and plains, lakes, semi-deserts, spongy muskeg and outcroppings of ancient rock. "The area of 1,304,904 square miles is 40% of the total area of Canada. It contains three major physiographic regions, the mountainous cordillera, the flat plains and the rocky shield."¹

The People

Glaciologists and Climatologists expound many theories as to the arrival of the Indian in North America. "At any time during the 20,000 years or so of glaciation which ended about 10,000 years ago, men might have walked from Asia, to the New World in a day or two."²

Before the white man arrived in the Northwest Territories, the Indians had evolved successful cultures of seasonal nomadism based on hunting and fishing. "Mammals, birds and fish provided food, clothing, light, heat, implements, and even weapons for the hunt. That state of existence prevailed, more or less unaltered, for many thousands of years."³

There were numerous tribes of Indians, chiefly of the Athapaskan linguistic stock. In the east, The Chipewyans ranged from Hudson Bay to Lake Athabasca; to the northwest there were the Yellowknives, the Dog-ribs, the Hare, and the Bear Lake Indians. The Slaves and Loucheaux occupied the Mackenzie River Valley. These tribes consisted of bands of

varying sizes under the leadership of one strong man or chief. They roamed in small bands, often camping for several weeks, or even months, at a fishing area or caribou crossing. The Athapaskan tribes made frequent trips into the tundra during the summer and fall to hunt caribou and musk oxen.

The European explorers of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were the first white men to contact the Indians. Although encounters between explorers and northern Natives were numerous during that period, they did not result in much change in the traditional way of life. The explorers were followed by the whalers and the fur traders and they, in turn, by the missionaries, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and the northern pioneers. Small settlements grew up around the trading posts and the missions along the main waterways. They introduced a new way of life to the North.

It was the fur trade that had the greatest impact on the northern people. The Indians were encouraged to trap the fur-bearing animals which previously had been of little use, and as a result, they spent less time at their traditional hunting pursuits. The rifle enabled them to kill game more efficiently and larger dog teams were necessary for winter travel on their new traplines. These developments made excessive demands on the game resources over wide areas.

At the same time, the isolated trading posts gradually became permanent settlements as Indian families settled near centres of trade goods and were attracted by the white man's activities. Many of the settlements became centres of transportation and jumping-off points to the interior for trappers, prospectors and government research parties.

"By 1900 there were thirteen settlements in the Mackenzie Valley connected by water transport; in the eastern Arctic there were only a few isolated trading posts."⁴

The Chipewyans are the largest group in the Northwest Territories. According to Dr. D. Leechman, they have a larger population and occupy more territory than other Athabaskan tribes. They receive their name from the cut of their tunics which had a dangling tail. Chipewyan translated into English means 'pointed chin'.

"The Chipewyans occupied all the area around Churchill River and as far west as Great Slave Lake. They lived on the edge of the forest. The winter was spent in the shelter of the trees. During the summer they hunted the caribou. We believe there used to be about 3,500 but they suffered a terrific scourge of smallpox in 1781 and almost nine out of every ten died from it."⁵

The Beaver got their name from the animal because they depended upon it for their living. They lived in the basin of the Peace River, southwest of the Chipewyans. They were close enough to the prairies that some of them obtained horses from the prairie dwellers, the Cree or Sarcee. Their hunting habits resembled those of the Sekani who lived to the west of them. They used snares to a great extent and fished a little to supplement their staple diet of meat.

The Slaves, often called Slaveys, were spread over a large area west of the Great Slave Lake as far as the Mackenzie River. The Crees called them Awokanal, which means 'slaves' and the name stuck. They were different from other tribes because the men did most of the hard work. They were kind to their women and did not abandon their old and sick to starve. They seldom left the forest to hunt in the barrens

and they ate a great deal more fish than their neighbors. At times, they were overrun by other tribes and the captives worked as slaves. However, this did not happen often because of their reputation as skillful magicians.

The Yellowknives lived in the area of the present city of Yellowknife. They dwelt in the lake-strewn land east of Great Bear Lake to the shores of the Great Slave Lake. They were much like their neighbors, the Chipewyans. In parts of their country, nuggets of native copper were found which they hammered into tools and weapons. At times, they sold copper tools to their neighbors.

The Dogribs lived around Great Bear Lake and southwards to Great Slave Lake. Like most of the tribes of the Northwest Territories, they lived largely on caribou and a few fish.

The Hares lived west and northwest of Great Bear Lake and derived their name from the fact that they lived largely on hares or rabbits. They used the skin for clothing and the meat for food. They were a timid people and hid in the bush if they saw strangers approaching. In order to settle a dispute, they would wrestle and twist their opponent's hair until one of them fell down.

The Sekani are called 'dwellers of the rocks' because they lived on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. They are somewhat shorter and stockier than the other tribes of the Northwest Territories. They lived in the forested areas, hunting moose and caribou both summer and winter. They disliked fish and thought very little of fishermen.

The Nahani lived to the northwest of the Sekani. They were divided into tribes, the Kaska, the mountain Indians, and the Goats. They lived on caribou, mountain goats and wood baffalo.



THE NATIONAL CANADIAN RED CROSS SOCIETY

Date of Founding

In 1885 Major General G. S. Ryerson laid the cornerstone for the organization called the National Canadian Red Cross Society. The need to tend the wounded during the Northwest Rebellion gave rise to the conversion of an ordinary army wagon into the first primitive ambulance. To distinguish the ambulance from other vehicles, a Red Cross flag of red cotton was attached to the wagon. In 1896 General Ryerson was responsible for establishing the first overseas branch of the British Red Cross Society in Canada. From this small branch developed the Canadian Red Cross Society which was incorporated by the Canadian Act of Parliament in 1909 and was recognized by the International Committee of the Red Cross as an independent national society in 1927.

Purpose

The purpose of the Canadian Red Cross Society as set forth in its Charter is briefly "To furnish volunteer aid to the sick and wounded of armies in time of war, in accordance with the Treaty of Geneva. In times of peace or war, to carry on and assist in work for the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world."⁷

Governing Body

According to the Charter of the Red Cross Society, the governing body is made up of a sixty member volunteer council. Each province elects three members at their annual meeting to the Central Council. The latter elects the officers of the Society and the National Execu-

tive Committee, which serves if the Council is not in session. Each province has its own Division; thus there are approximately 1,200 branches in all of Canada.

Modus Operandi

Most Red Cross work is carried out on a volunteer basis by highly trained personnel in the medical, nursing, technical and administrative field. The Women's Work Committee has sewing and knitting groups from coast to coast. Teachers direct the activities of the Red Cross youth in school room branches, home nursing, first aid and water safety. Veterans' lodges are almost completely manned by volunteers. "One of the most significant voluntary contributions is the donation of blood to the National Blood Transfusion Services."⁸

Finances

"Apart from bequests, other unsolicited donations and some government support, the revenue of the Canadian Red Cross Society is derived from the proceeds of the annual campaign for funds and participation in United Appeals."⁹

The National campaign for funds is held in the month of March, traditionally known as Red Cross Month, and widely used as an educational medium and as an instrument for volunteer work.

Organization of the Northwest Water Safety Program

The Water Safety organization, with a Director at its head, has its offices, or nerve centre of activity in Edmonton, Alberta. Area representatives are responsible for the southern, northern, western and eastern parts of the province.

Instructors' courses, generally initiated by the Director, are held at such central locations as the University of Alberta and the University of Calgary. Those qualified to participate are seniors who have come from Beginners through Juniors to Intermediates. After ten days' of instruction in swimming, lifesaving, rescue, and pool operation, the candidate is subjected to a rigid oral, written and practical swimming test. The cost of the course is borne entirely by the candidate.

Successful completion of this course qualifies the graduate to serve as a paid Water Safety Instructor in either a community pool or a public beach.

Northern settlements were void of swimmers, consequently potential instructors had to come from Alberta to fill the gap. Due to the fact that most northern communities lack any economical base, the cost of the Water Safety Program was shared by the Department of Recreation of the N.W.T., the government of the N.W.T. and the respective settlements involved. Details of the operation of the program are referred to in Chapter IV.

FOOTNOTES

¹W. E. S. Hennock, Geographical Bulletin, Fort McPherson, No. 16: 86-103, 1961, p. 9.

²F. Simington, The Canadian Indian, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969, p. 19.

³Ibid., p. 19.

⁴K. G. Rea, The Political Economy of the Canadian North, Toronto: Toronto Press, 1968, p. 13.

⁵D. Leechman, Native Tribes of Canada, Toronto: W. J. Gage Company Ltd., 1965, p. 204.

⁶Map, Centres of Activity, North. Issued under the authority of the Honorable Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Volume XVI, No. 3, May 1969, p. 80.

⁷A.G. Gilmet, Water Safety Service, Edmonton: Queen's Printer, 1970, p. 1.

⁸P. H. Gordon, Fifty Years in the Canadian Red Cross, Canada: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1969, p. 20.

CHAPTER II

THE PRESENT NEED FOR FUNCTIONAL INDIAN LEADERSHIP

"Great changes in the history of any organization or society generally result from the innovative effort of a few superior individuals."¹

In the past, Indian leadership was highly functional because of its practical contributions to hunting, trapping and fishing.

At present, the forty-five Indian tribes on the 220 reserves across Canada are floundering for want of an adequate way of organizing their potential resources. As part of the Canadian sub-culture, they are striving to bridge the wide gap between a pre-industrial and post-industrial society. To maintain their identity requires freedom from the paternalism of the Department of Indian Affairs. It also requires leadership. The Native is no longer geographically separated from the larger Canadian society. He must react to the forces of two or more cultures in close contact, and not infrequently, in conflict.

Native leadership is, and will continue to be, the subject of much research, debate and opinion. The wants, desires, and striving of the fragmented indigenous people have to be put into some kind of working perspective to fit the framework of the politically, socially and economically rapidly changing Euro-Canadian society.

M. Argyle, in discussing group behavior and program development, emphasizes the importance of effective leadership. "One of the most important and influential features of any group, organization, or society is leadership."²

It is submitted that the two important problems Canadian Indian leaders have to face up to immediately are:

1. The achievement of equal status and the fighting of discrimination against Indians, and

2. The maintenance of dynamic and harmonious relationships with and between the tribes to ensure co-operation and effective bargaining as to human and Indian rights without further separation from the cultural pluralistic Canadian nation.

Relevant to 1. above is Cardinal's comment, "The history of Canada's Indians is a shameful chronicle of the white man's disinterest, his deliberate trampling of Indian rights and his repeated betrayal of our trust."³

Successful Indian leadership requires a great sense of responsibility and a corresponding degree of skill in the human, technical, managerial, speculative, and creative aspects of leading and decision-making. Because of this, the selection and training of leaders should be of vital concern not only to the Canadian Indian himself but to each and every citizen who is interested in the unity of pluralistic Canadian society.

"During recent years in many parts of Canada, the community development [and similar] process has thrown up Indian leaders who are animating their people quite effectively,"⁴ toward the maintenance of their own identities, but internal conflict among the Indians themselves, consisting as they do of many different tribes and associations, is assuming serious proportions. Whether such conflicts will only be disruptive or can become creative will depend largely on the calibre of Indian leadership.

In any social structure there are occasions for conflict. The Indians are no different. Indian Associations are likely to make, from time to time, rival claims for scarce resources offered by the government, or for prestige and power. In flexible social structures like those of the Indians, multiple leadership crisscrosses. Also, difference in value orientation between young and old tend to create wide cleavages. Functional Indian leaders must help to revitalize many existing Indian values which, incidentally, or not so incidentally, can enrich Canadian culture. Such leaders must also, however, contribute to the emergence of new norms for the Indians which will enable them to take a proud place in the Canadian mosaic. In this sense, Indian leadership can be a mechanism for adjustment to a continually changing multi-cultural (i.e. Canadian) environment. The Indian nation will benefit from this type of leadership because it will assure and recognize continuance of Indian contributions to the ever-changing Canadian kaleidoscope. An Indian social structure in which there is no room for this type of leadership will inevitably become outmoded and may eventually fade away and die.

Indian leadership must produce associations and coalitions with white and other ethnic power structures. Bonds between their own members provide a ready guard against assimilation. Indian leaders must help to reduce indigenous social isolation. The Indian leader must be the bridge between Indians and "antagonistic" Whites. If the Canadian social structure allows for a multiplicity of Indian leadership, then we may be able to bring together otherwise isolated, fragmented, apathetic or mutually hostile parties for the solving of the Indian-White problem.

As the Indian leader moves from his society toward the norms of the Canadian society, he becomes a marginal man.

Every minority group finds itself in a larger society where many customs, many values, many practices are prescribed. The minority group member is thus to some degree forced to make the dominant majority his reference group in respect to language, manners, morals and law. He may be entirely loyal to his minority in-group, but he is at the same time always under the necessity of relating himself to the standards and expectations of the majority.⁵

To return to the Indian way of five hundred years ago is impossible.

Indian leaders must point the way to a new orientation which combines Indian values with those parts of the twentieth century technology which conduce to Indian growth and development as a significant element in the Canadian mosaic.

The White man's conception of leadership is often based upon popularity, power, showmanship, education, and long-range planning. The writer, after living with the Indians of the Far North, has not observed any such characteristics in the existing leaders with whom he has come into contact. In fact, many of these Northern band chiefs neither possess nor display power; they deal without force or threat; they use neither colorful devices nor spectacular showmanship, for example, being the best hunter or trapper. As for the important matter of setting goals, they seem in actuality to be of little influence. Perhaps the only achievement of the Northern Indian "leader" is his unique understanding of his people and their problems.

However, in the relatively uncontrolled and limited context of the band or the community, the Indian leader may not be able to reject a directive role in the face of those expecting him to "lead". This is a problem for the new Indian leader.

The Dynamic Leadership Role

The Indian leader instead of conceiving himself as being static, directive, or non-directive, may attempt to see himself as being dynamic. The leader could try initially to be as directive as is expected of him while encouraging more and more follower participation and self-determination as times goes on. The Indian leader must also be aware of his own needs for dominance and assertion and subjugate them in the interest of his followers. The critical element in using this type of approach is the leader's awareness. He must lead in such a way that the follower will increasingly rely upon his own resources. The leader must diligently and patiently attempt to provide more and more opportunities for learner's self-determination. He must feel comfortable in giving up more and more control to the followers.

Leadership Diagram

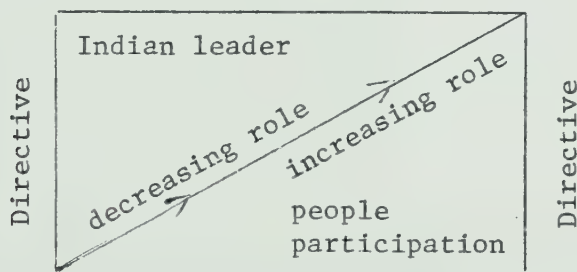


Figure I

The diagram illustrates the writer's idea of progressive functional leadership. Stage one of the diagram (extreme left) illustrates a leader as being maximally directive and autocratic. The author is convinced that where existing Indian leaders are concerned, any marked departure from the essential directive role of leadership in the beginning stages of any group-forming process will inevitably result in fail-

ure. But, if success is to be continuous and if morale is to survive, the directive role of the leader must decrease and that of the Indian people in general increase.

The Community Development principles referred to in the next chapter all aim at increasing people participation.

FOOTNOTES

¹C. A. Gibb, Leadership, Victoria, Australia: Penguin Books Ltd., 1969, p. 207.

²M. Argyle, Psychology and Social Problems, London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1964, p. 93.

³H. Cardinal, The Unjust Society, Edmonton: M. G. Hurtig Ltd., 1969, p. 5.

⁴W. A. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, U. S. Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954, p. 38.

⁵C. A. S. Hynam, Citizen Participation: Canada, ed. by James A. Draper, Toronto: New Press, 1971, p. 375.

CHAPTER III

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT - DEFINITIONS, CHARACTERISTICS AND PRINCIPLES

There is a confusing variety of definitions of Community Development, e.g. Du Sautoy in The Organization of a Community Development Program¹ refers to "definitions and terminology in Community Development and related subjects" under twenty sub-heads, but a general review of the literature in community development either explicitly or implicitly includes these five basic requisite functions: initiation, self-reliance, legitimation, participation, and competence.²

The writer favors the following definitions which conceptualize Community Development in its entirety as process as well as program:

- (a) Community Development [as process] is an educational motivational process designed to create conditions favorable to economic and social change, if possible, on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, then techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to receive fullest participation of the community must be utilized.³
- (b) Community Development [as program] is the utilization under one co-ordinated program of approaches and techniques which rely on local communities as units of action to purposefully change living conditions by making use of all available resources.⁴

Dunham in The New Community Organization⁵ lists fourteen "Characteristics of Community Development" which amplify and elaborate on the five basic requisite functions referred to above.

It is relevant to note here that Community Development earned its legitimacy "through much trial and error by a large number of

extension workers in the field."⁶ Where working-with-people programs and projects were concerned "Community Development" procedures often proved themselves to be surprisingly effective in areas where meticulous planning and able administration by "experts" failed spectacularly and expensively. This is the fact which sparked the idea for this study. Although the program now being reviewed was not considered at the time to be a "Community Development" project and thus "Community Development" principles and procedures were not deliberately adhered to, it was considered that it would be interesting and useful to assess how far such principles and procedures had been followed, unwittingly as it were, and to what extent they were correlated with success or lack of success.

In his search for an authoritative and concise listing of such principles, the writer was introduced to Di Franco's A Collection of Principles and Guides.⁷ Although, interestingly enough, these are not specifically referred to as Community Development principles, but as principles related to Rural Adult Education, he says inter alia, in his introduction:

Today there are very few places in the world that are not involved in doing something to help rural people better their lives economically, socially, and physically.

.....

The fact remains that the importance of this whole venture depends upon the attitudes of those who are now engaged in the kind of endeavour of "helping people help themselves"

.....

I have made a collection of principles, guides or expressions stated by these men

The significance of this collection perhaps rests in the fact that these experts represent the various disciplines. As specialists in their particular disciplines, they became involved in the work of helping people help themselves. In

so doing, they found a common ground of endeavor which, when analyzed, proved that the working-with-people program can only be successful if interdisciplinary in philosophy.⁸

It is submitted that the above quotations are so much in the context of the definitions and characteristics of Community Development referred to in this chapter that Di Franco's "Composite List of Principles" can be legitimately adopted as Community Development Principles. They are listed as follows:

[Community Development] (with emphasis on the extension process) should:

- I. be based on conditions that exist (local, regional and national)
- II. involve people in actions that promote their welfare.
- III. develop programs gradually
- IV. aim basically at people's interests and needs
- V. use democratic methods
- VI. keep programs flexible
- VII. work through understanding of the culture
- VIII. use local leaders
- IX. use existing agencies
- X. utilize trained specialists
- XI. work with all members of the family
- XII. make programs as broad as needs of rural people
- XIII. evaluate continuously
- XIV. work with all classes of the society
- XV. keep in line with national policies
- XVI. use the community approach
- XVII. help people recognize their needs
- XVIII. aim at economic independence or equity
- XIX. extension should be associated with research and teaching
- XX. extension work should be based upon clearly stated and understood objectives

In the chapter which follows, each of the above-mentioned principles and their relevance and significance to the Water Safety Program will be dealt with separately.

FOOTNOTES

¹Du Sautoy, Peter, The Organization of a Community Development Program, London, Oxford University Press, 1962, pp. 121-129.

²Pomerlau, Raymond, "The Initiation Process in Community Development Projects: A Cross-Cultural Analysis." International Review of Community Development, No. 22, 1969, p. 95.

³Community Development in Alberta, Ottawa: Special Planning Secretariat, Privy Council Office, 1965, p. 2.

⁴Hynam, C.A.S., "Community Development, An Example of Conceptual Confusion", Perspectives on Regions and Regionalism, Western Association of Sociology and Anthropology Proceedings, 1968. Ed. by B.Y. Card, pp. 194-195.

⁵Dunham, Arthur, The New Community Organization, New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1970, pp. 172-173.

⁶Hynam, C.A.S., "What is Community Development?". The unpublished manuscript of a radio broadcast on CKUA, Edmonton, Alberta, on August 5, 1966, p. 7.

⁷Di Franco, Joseph, A Collection of Principles and Guides, Ithaca, New York: New York State College of Agriculture at Cornell University, Comparative Extension Publication, No. 4.

⁸Idem. pp. 5-8.

CHAPTER IV

PRINCIPLES IN ACTION

1. Community Development Should be Based on Conditions that Exist

To do this means to know what the conditions are. This is, perhaps, the first job of the educators. It means personal contact with, and thorough observance of, the environment, the people, the social structures, the economic status, the habits, the traditions, and the attitudes; in fact everything about the area in which the job is to be done.

To often assumptions are too quickly made or opinions too hurriedly determined in trying to get on with the job. Taking time to learn about the environment is a very important part of the job.¹

All of those who were directly responsible for the Northern Red Cross Water Safety Program had been subjected to experience of the North, either by living for sometime about the 60th parallel or through extensive travel in the Eastern and Western Arctic. In fact, their working knowledge of northern conditions sparked the idea of reducing the high rate of drownings by instructing indigenous people in the art of swimming and lifesaving.

Also, the Red Cross Water Safety Division modified the southern-oriented Water Safety Program from a program for recreation to a northern-oriented swimming program for survival.

The Alberta - N.W.T. Red Cross Water Safety Division, in addition, repeatedly endeavoured to orient its course content to northern conditions by organizing introductory classes at the Red Cross House in Edmonton and at the University of Alberta. Diversity of land and people complicated the issue of devising a uni-lingual program for

Indians, Metis, Eskimos and Whites. The southern instructor destined for the North was exposed to films, slides and lectures aimed at giving him a realistic picture of northern community life with its peculiar cultural patterns.

In Canada the towns of the North, and I include here the towns and settlements of the immediate North, the treed middle North and the treeless Arctic, were either built for resource extraction and as administration or transport centres. None of them are very big and they get smaller the further North one goes. Into these small towns come people from the south; most of them have never lived anywhere else than in the suburbs of big cities and bring with them all the attitudes and problems of suburbia.²

In 1966, 1968 and 1970, the Red Cross designed special workshops in Yellowknife, Fort Smith and Fort Simpson to accommodate a cultural exchange program between members of indigenous swim committees from northern settlements and southern trained and educated water safety instructors.

The introduction of portable pools to the N.W.T. was largely due to the fact that conditions there are markedly different from those that obtained further south.

The North has had eight drownings this year. This is a land criss-crossed and virtually surrounded by water. Children, Indian, Eskimo and Whites travel by canoe and "Kicker" from the time they are born. If there is an accident and the canoe is swamped they easily drown within a few feet of safety.³

Technically all northern settlements are located at bodies of water except Pine Point. The reason, of course, is transportation. However suitable for boats, barges and waterplanes, soft bottoms, whirlpools, silt, debris, cold water and steep banks penalize attempts at learning to swim in natural waters. Thus, because conditions that

existed were clearly unsuitable for the more conventional method of swimming instruction, the Red Cross was forced to be directive and initiate, through their non-indigenous instructors, a novel program based on heated, portable pools.

Now (1972) six years and thirteen portable pools later at Yellowknife, Hay River, Aklavik, Inuvik, Tuktoyaktuk, Fort Smith, Pine Point, Fort Norman, Fort McPherson, Fort Simpson, Fort Churchill, Baker Lake and Rankin Inlet, the Red Cross is abdicating its leadership in this connection in favor of local personnel, based as from the summer of 1972-73 in Yellowknife, the capital of the N.W.T. There is now an abundance of "potential" Native leaders. It is submitted that one of the factors responsible for this is the encouragement given to local leadership within the various programs.

Although the Program can be said to be successful on the whole, the individual instructor coming from the South could have avoided early misunderstandings and mistakes if he or she had spent the first few weeks conducting an informal survey of life in the settlement, contacting White and Native leaders, and getting to know the economic and social climate of the area in which the job was to be done.

Failing to understand and adapt to conditions that existed caused conflict-producing situations. Cases in point were the demands of the Settlement Council in Fort Simpson and the request of the Band Chief in Fort Good Hope to have water safety instructors dismissed for breaches of conduct.

In both cases the alleged misconduct was "off duty". Invariably the customs and mores of the settlements in question prescribe a certain behavior pattern which must be adhered to at all times, on and off duty.

Living in a northern settlement forces the Red Cross instructor to adjust to conditions of isolation, lack of prompt communications with headquarters, and distance from suppliers and qualified technical assistance. The writer recalls weeks where the entire program stopped because a heater, filter, or chlorinator part refused to function and could not be replaced until a new one was flown in from thousands of miles away.

Dispersed population in a harsh environment has seriously handicapped the growth of communications in the North. Private and government telephone, telegraph, radio and T.V. companies face high risks in providing services because of great installation, operation, and maintenance cost. In many Arctic areas only one person can talk at a time on a telephone circuit and then often only intermittently as the connection is often so bad that words fade or are distorted.⁴

Unless the instructor adapts to existing social structures, language, habits, traditions, etc. he is likely to be a total failure. Northern settlements do not tolerate ridicule or disapproval of their way of life. That all Red Cross programs in the North were considered to be "successful" is an indication that instructors must have, to a large extent, lived up to the principle that is being discussed here. But how much more successful they would have been if they had adhered more closely to the above principle is a difficult question to answer.

A case in point is swim program timetabling. Children in northern settlements defy all southern rules of obedience after returning from school and hostel supervision to the local hamlet. Summers are carefree and happy. Native children, apart from being required to go to fish camps, are allowed to do whatever they like.

They get up when they feel like it, eat when they are hungry, and play when and where they like, often

until the early hours of the bright summer nights.⁵

Yet most Red Cross Water Safety Programs visited by the writer, as the N.W.T. area representative, scheduled "Learn to Swim" classes at 10.00 in the morning. The result was low attendance - eventually increasing as the day progressed, and climaxing at 8.00 in the evening. "Drop-in Swim Programs", in the writer's opinion, should have been more closely related to the local children's way of life.

But the main idea seemed to be to let Native children find things out for themselves, watching, of course, that they did not get into serious trouble.⁶

The concept that Native children wish to learn and emulate their elders and playmates was used by the writer to great advantage.

At camp and in settlements, children spend most of their time playing. Husky pups and dogs are favorite playmates.⁷

Knowing this, a husky pup was put into the swimming pool to demonstrate the "dog paddle" or basic human survival stroke. The dog was not only a natural teacher, but created much joy and laughter among the fun-loving children. This resulted in increased attendance and a shortened period of instruction and training prior to passing the water safety tests.

II. Community Development Should Involve People in Action that Promotes Their Welfare

Involvement of people in all of the activities means involvement in planning programs, determining objectives, setting up plans of work, carrying on action and evaluating results.⁸

The extent or degree of involvement of northern indigenous people in the Red Cross Water Safety Program varied considerably within the programs that were eventually established but the aim was to involve as

many people in the community as possible.

In keeping with this principle, no water safety program in the N.W.T. was inaugurated without a formal request from the local community council. The latter consists of men and women elected to represent the geographically designated area with its various ethnic Indians, Metis, Eskimos and Euro-Canadians.

It can be argued that the initial visit of the Red Cross Water Safety Director to a northern community was based upon the principle of involving people in action that would promote the welfare of the Water Safety Program. This visit, often a year before the actual start of the Program, was, in essence, a planned and organized effort to interact with formal and informal community leaders. While offering technical assistance, the Red Cross requested a firm commitment from the community councils as to assistance with respect to personnel, equipment, supplies, money, voluntary, government, and domestic help. Each community committed itself to make available a suitable building for a pool. Community associations, schools, Native organizations, and in the case of Yellowknife, the Correctional Institute, pledged assistance in labour and/or cash equivalent. In some cases, voluntary work parties cleaned beaches, in others, organizations built docks, and the students in Grandin College erected a quonset hut as a shelter for the portable pool. The writer photographed Indian carpenters, Eskimo plumbers and local electricians working without pay. They toiled long past sunlit midnight to make "their" pool operational on time. School children sold fish, Scouts collected bottles and teenagers put on dances to raise money. The Department of Recreation matched every dollar raised by local people to promote the pool program.

The involvement of local people was mandatory, but the degree to which each and everyone in the community participated depended upon the enthusiasm and personality of the Red Cross instructor and his rapport with the local populous.

The first task of the instructor (on loan to the N.W.T.) was to meet the local council, offer his services and hear the council's expectations. Thus his first step involved local people. Furthermore, he was paid by the city, town, or hamlet, and thereby responsible for all official duties to the local representative body. Any problems, financial or otherwise, were brought to the local council for discussion. Only in one case did a council accuse an instructor of unilateral policy-making. The Red Cross area representative was called in and the final decision from the council was fully supported by the Director of the Alberta-N.W.T. Water Safety Program.

The Red Cross Water Safety Division requires that an instructor draw support and help from local individuals. Local people were actively involved in the registration of swimmers, supervising classes and the actual teaching of swimming. Many regular 'mother-child' classes depended entirely upon the involvement of local parents.

Local participation was greatest at the start. Once the pool was in operation and swim schedules established, excitement wore off and local participation invariably dropped. Some local helpers took a well-deserved rest after weeks of voluntary labour while others quietly dropped from the scene. Also, instructors, in their eagerness to have the program succeed, took on increasingly more responsibility, thereby unwittingly discouraging participation.

An exception to the rule of people-participation occurred at Pine Point, a company town dominated by Cominco Lead and Zinc Enterprises. Staff quarters, bunk houses, and family living quarters which stand in long rows along gravel roads or unpaved streets, are provided by the company.

People of northern company towns tend to feel that they live on the fringe, far from the southern centers where decisions are made; fashions are formed and new customs and trends initiated.⁹

Socially responsible planning for company towns usually comes from the executive of the industry involved. The macroplanning and programming is generally left to the authorities without involving people at the grass roots level.

The pool at Grandin College was dismantled and shipped by company truck to Pine Point. All dealings between the writer, who was responsible for introducing the program, and the town of Pine Point, was with a single company director who went on holidays soon after the pool was shipped from Fort Smith to Pine Point.

The writer visited Pine Point during the last week in July. The portable pool delivered to the community at the beginning of June, had been deposited in front of the old curling rink. People were generally ignorant of the fact that the pool was there. The children, in search of escape from the intense summer heat, were swimming and bathing in a garbage-stewn gravel pit at the east end of town. Several accidents caused by broken glass, brought forth loud criticism. Frustrated parents spoke bitterly about a portable pool which had apparently never arrived. Some flagrantly accused the mine management of reneging on their responsibility for providing proper recreation facilities in gen-

eral and a pool in particular. On contacting the mine, the writer was informed that the company was willing to render all assistance possible but refused to accept any ultimate responsibility. While the 'buck was passed' between mine and community, children were dodging rusty machine parts and broken oil drums for the pleasure of swimming in a murky mine pit.

It is noteworthy that at this point neither the mine nor any local person or organization was willing to take the initiative to erect the portable pool. Technical 'know how' was definitely one of the deterrents, but lack of community spirit, organizing ability and leadership could well be seen as the other obstacles.

After several days in the community and such excuses as "Why should I bust my back at putting up a pool when the mine has men and money to spare?", the writer walked to the pool site alone. A large sheet of plywood was used for a sign saying PINE POINT SWIMMING POOL. While the writer was hammering and moving pool parts, children, White and Native, stood watching at a distance. Eventually they came closer and inquired about what was happening. By noon, fifteen boys and girls were busy helping; sweeping up, gathering broken glass and paper, and carrying the lighter parts of the pool into the arena. Mothers stopped on their shopping trips and asked questions also. That night, several children brought their fathers to help. Among the people present was a foreman from the mine. As a father of eight children, he was keenly interested in preventing his children from swimming in the hazardous pit. While the writer discussed the possible pool project with the foreman, more people gathered to find out what was happening. Although the writer

began to feel that he was beginning to reach consensus with the foreman on some technical procedures, it was those who were listening who suddenly came up with plans or ideas on how to overcome some of the more difficult tasks such as the installation of the plumbing and electricity. Eventually someone offered the use of his car to bring an electrician and a plumber to the site for a thorough cost and material analysis.

The mine foreman turned out to be an excellent leader and organizer and soon appropriate jobs were allocated to individuals and groups. The mine assisted with men and material during the day while volunteer work groups hammered, painted, and cleaned every night until the midnight hours. Exactly twelve days later the portable pool was operational.

Returning to Pine Point a few months later, the writer found a very successful Swimming and Water Safety Program under the supervision of a pool committee of five parents and a local Red Cross Water Safety instructor.

The Red Cross Water Safety Division has learned from experience that although technical assistance is an important factor toward success, it is also of the utmost importance that the local people be encouraged to become involved as much as possible.

III. Community Development Should Develop Programs Gradually

Not by choice but out of necessity did the Northern Water Safety Program develop at a slower pace than in southern areas. With limited staff (one instructor per settlement) and limited funds from the N.W.T. Department of Recreation, water safety programs had to develop slowly.

The first N.W.T. Red Cross Water Safety Program was inaugurated in 1964 by the Director of the Red Cross Alberta-N.W.T. Swim Division in Yellowknife. The objective was to generate interest and to select a central core of several Native leaders to carry the project through the summer. The city of Yellowknife supported the venture by paying local instructors and lifeguards to teach swimming and supervise a lakefront at Frame Lake.

After the first year's successful operation, the city requested assistance from the Red Cross Water Safety Division in Edmonton and the writer was sent North to reorganize and build on the existing program. It would be wrong to view the first summer's swimming program in Yellowknife as anything but a laying of a foundation for future years.

There was little or no money available for proper equipment or for providing the lifeguard with adequate living quarters. The latter consisting of a shack on the beach with a cook plate and sleeping bag.

The lack of facilities not only slowed down the program but eventually forced the writer to close the beach project temporarily because of lack of manpower, equipment, and supervision for the hundreds of children involved daily. Bad weather was also a hampering factor. Thus the principle in question had to be followed willy nilly for the reasons given above. Nonetheless, the sheer weight of demand - 275 registered swim pupils in 1966 - emphasized the need for the program and the Department of Recreation started to give financial support.

The Water Safety Program in Fort Smith was also relatively limited in its ability for rapid growth. The only suitable body of water for teaching swimming was Long Lake. Native children who could afford the

bus fare, travelled over sixty miles on a dusty, unpaved, country road to receive fifteen minutes of instruction in 55° water. Parents assisted the Red Cross instructor in keeping the children busy during the long wait between bus trips.

Long before the portable swimming pool was introduced to the North, Father Brown of the Hostel in Inuvik, built a plywood pool in a shed for the Hostel children. Such sporadic efforts eventually gave way to an organized Red Cross Program.

In 1966 the first portable pool tank, complete with shower and heating system, arrived in Fort Simpson. This pool and the program were well accepted and the Department of Recreation of the N.W.T. supported the Water Safety classrooms financially for the next six years, not only in Fort Simpson but also at Frobisher Bay, Fort Churchill, Baker Lake, Rankin Inlet, the Mackenzie River Delta at Inuvik, Fort McPherson, Fort Norman, Norman Wells, Pine Point, Fort Smith, Pine Lake, Hay River, Yellowknife, Aklavik and Tuktoyuktuk.

In most cases the pools were placed in already existing structures like arenas, curling rinks, or quonset huts. Although the number of drownings in the N.W.T. was extremely high and called for speedy action, as already has been intimated, the lack of money and facilities forced the Red Cross Water Safety Division to comply involuntarily with the principle under discussion. The fact that it was the only viable course is irrelevant. Although they are geared for quick results in normal circumstances, it took seven years for the Red Cross Water Safety Division to adequately cover the N.W.T.

The following articles span six years of this gradual development.

This Arctic swimming pool was made in one afternoon. Three sides were oil drums filled with water, the fourth was a square cliff face. The space between was cleared of stone, and over a few pieces of plywood, we threw a sixty foot square tarpaulin like a Neptune's bath, and tied it down. An outlet in the lowest corner, an outside plug, and a two inch plastic hose were sufficient to fill the pool from the river.

The small boys and girls were the most adventurous; then came the teenagers. Finally everybody splashed in. For three weeks of fine weather the pool was the community centre.

The boys would drain the pool every night, sweeping off the tarp, and leave the hose on all night. By six in the morning the pool would be full; by noon the sun had heated the water. Before the pool was dismantled in September, many of the Native kids had learned to swim a little.¹⁰

As far as the writer is aware, this is a record of the first attempt at an artificial swimming pool in an Eskimo community. The quotation which follows is from an article written about six years later.

Portable pools were set up earlier this summer in the Eskimo settlements of Rankin Inlet and Baker Lake by the Recreation Division of the Territorial Government's Department of Local Government.

Mr. Bowmeester says the swimming instruction is basically intended to acquaint residents with a means of survival should they become involved in a water mishap.

An average of between 2,500 to 3,000 students were taking instruction each year in the N.W.T.¹¹

IV. Community Development Should Be Based on Peoples' Interests and Needs

Water is part of life in the North. Indians and Eskimos are interested in water safety. The need for instruction is the art of swimming and lifesaving is great.

A bird's eye view of the country above latitude 60° reveals small patches of land surrounded by rivers, lakes, streams and muskeg. The

very need for transportation forces Indians and Eskimos to locate near water. Names of northern communities are indicative of their closeness to water, e.g., Hay River, Frobisher Bay, Pond Inlet, Sachs Harbour, Baker Lake, Perry Island, Norman Wells and Shawinigan Falls.

Boating mishaps on the Mackenzie River, ice accidents in the Arctic, or simply children venturing over their depth, are historic tales of every settlement. Southern Canadians who believe that the North consists of little but ice and snow are badly mistaken. During July and August, due to twenty-four hours of sunshine, the thick ice vanishes from northern rivers and lakes. The Native people are busy setting fishnets, the children play in river washouts, slosh through water-filled ditches and 'dog paddle' across the silty channels of the Mackenzie river. Their livelihood comes from the water and is dependent on water safety. Most indigenous people travel by canoe and 'kicker' from the time they are born. Almost every family in the Mackenzie Delta settlements owns at least one boat. The punt, the dory, the skiff, and the scow, are as popular in the North as the Ford, the Pontiac and the Chevy in the south.

Fish camps dot the shore lines of northern rivers and the increasingly powerful outboard motors take Native people further away than ever from their settlements. Thus there is an ever-increasing need for survival techniques in case of accidents. They have, of course, to be specifically related to northern conditions. Overloading and overpowering are the two most serious boating problems in the North. The writer once observed an eighteen foot canoe carrying twelve sleigh dogs, three adults with nine children, camping gear, and two caribou. None of the twelve passengers carried a life jacket. When overloaded, free

TABLE I
DROWNING STATISTICS
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES - 1969

LOCATION	DATE	NO.	AGE	SEX	CAUSE
Great Slave Lake off Jones Point	21 Jan.	2	52 60	M M	Bombardier went through ice
Between Aklavik and Ft. McPherson on Peel Channel	7 June	2	16 27	F F	Capsized canoe
Twin Lakes, Inuvik	14 June	1	26	M	Swimming
Tent Is. off mouth of west channel, McKenzie River	28 June	1	34	F	Capsized canoe
Repulse Bay, N.W.T. N. Pole River	11 July	1	13	M	Walked into hole in ice
Great Slave Lake, N.W.T. nr. Yellowknife	19 July	1	20	M	Swimming out to rescue canoe
Patricia Bay near Clyde, N.W.T.	25 July	1	30	M	Fell from boat
Patricia Bay near Clyde, N.W.T.	27 July	1	20	M	Canoe capsized
McKenzie River near Ft. Simpson, N.W.T.	2 Aug.	1	27	M	Subject boating alone
Cameron River near Yellowknife, N.W.T.	3 Aug.	1	39	M	Attempted to save friend
Camp Seeaktoo, N.W.T. 80 miles south of Pangnirtung	3 Aug.	1	12	M	Slipped from rock while playing
Peel River near Aklavik	7 Aug.	1	18	F	Boating mishap
Great Slave Lake, N.W.T. near Hay River	5 Sept.	1	32	M	Boating mishap
Cambridge Bay, N.W.T.	14 Sept.	1	12	M	Fell off small skiff
Peel Channel near Aklavik	30 Sept.	1	23	M	Hunting - 14' canoe
Small lake, E. arm of Great Slave Lake, N.W.T.	22 Oct.	1	64	M	Fell through ice staking claims
Small lake, near Tuktoy- aktuk, N.W.T.	28 Oct.	2	15 25	M M	Broke through ice with dog team

board is greatly reduced and waves from other boats, as well as sudden gales, jeopardize the safety of everybody in the boat. Water safety knowledge and the wearing of life jackets would greatly increase the chances of survival in case of an accident. Northern rivers and lakes are relatively deserted, thus making the individual's need for water safety knowledge mandatory.

Boating accidents (see Table I) account for up to two-thirds of all fatalities in the North. According to Red Cross statistics, the ratio of drowning fatalities, male to female, is six to one. The Northern male, by virtue of his hunting and fishing skills, spends much time on the water. He needs to learn particularly about survival after falling from his boat, capsizing his canoe, or slipping into deep water while cleaning nets, loading camping gear, angling, or ice fishing.

The writer heard many stories of multiple drownings in a lake or channel when Native non-swimmers jumped into deep water trying to assist a drowning victim. There is an obvious need here for information on how to help someone in such a predicament by using such assists as a paddle, a stick, a rope, a jacket, two shirts tied together, or throwing a floating object such as an empty gas drum. Since a high percentage of drownings occur within thirty feet of safety, the Water Safety Program does not need to be based on more elaborate and expensive techniques that might be necessary elsewhere.

Learning to swim in clothing, however, is a necessity for the North. Clothing in cold water is functional because of the insulation factor. Usually Indians and Eskimos falling accidentally into the

water will be wearing clothes. When people fall into deep water unexpectedly they tend to panic and become disoriented unless they are taught what to do in such a situation.

The people of the North are naturally interested in relevant survival techniques such as those which have been mentioned, and the Red Cross has lived up fully to the principle under discussion.

- * V. Community Development Should Use Democratic Methods
- VI. Community Development Should Keep Programs Flexible
- VII. Community Development Should Work Through Understanding of the Culture
- VIII. Community Development Should Use Local Leaders

The use of the indigenous Indian, Metis, and Eskimo leaders in the Red Cross Water Safety Program in the N.W.T. is one of the unique differences between formal educational practices and a flexible development program adhering to the foregoing Community Development principles.

Probably the most significant fact in Red Cross thinking with regard to principles V to VIII is the steady desire to develop new methods and to take new action to improve the Water Safety Program. With every new program in the N.W.T. since 1964, the urgent need for staff has increased. With every new portable pool, the Northern Red Cross Program imported a white instructor from the south. The southern Red Cross instructor found himself supervising a program in a culture unlike his own and with people separated by language, skin colour, different habits, customs, etc., giving rise to problems of cultural linkage. The training of local leaders to eventually replace southern trained instructors

*These are grouped together because encouraging democratic methods requires flexibility, understanding of the culture of the people and the use of local leadership.

was the response to the challenge of these problems. It was felt that each new leader, instead of increasing the gap between southern and northern cultures, should aim at bridging it, contributing to a mutual understanding of both cultures and increasing the chances of a two-way flow of information.

The training of local leaders is now standard practice in the Alberta Red Cross Division. With the rapid expansion of the Red Cross program, the need for trained personnel became acute. Due to the seasonal nature of swimming and lifesaving, temporary Red Cross Water Safety instructors, usually high school and university students from the south, were generally only available during summer vacations. As the formal training of Red Cross Water Safety instructors and swimming pool operators grew, the natural gap between the thirteen year old senior swimmer and the seventeen year old instructor was filled by the local leader.

With the rapid expansion of the program came the mounting costs of sending instructors from Edmonton and other centres in the south to places like Inuvik, Fort Good Hope, and Fort McPherson. The return plane fare from Edmonton to Inuvik is around \$300.00 and a charter from Inuvik to Fort McPherson will cost about \$75.00 more. Room and board are very expensive in the North due to the long distances from commodity and food suppliers in the south. Thus, even from a purely economic point of view, it is advantageous to train personnel already on the spot. It not only reduces operating costs but labour turn-over as well.

The training of local leaders and pool management personnel has been evolutionary, commencing with a three-year flexible leadership training program at Grandin College. This program resulted from a great deal of thought and careful planning by the Red Cross and the Department

of Recreation of the N.W.T. It included an attempt to determine what could be done with the Native leaders who successfully completed the training course. It was decided that they could be utilized immediately in northern swimming programs where their knowledge of the Native culture would have an enhancing effect.

Grandin College in Fort Smith, N.W.T., seemed to be the ideal place. One hundred and twenty teenage youths from the Mackenzie Delta and the Arctic were in residence. The writer, in his capacity as instructor, and the Native student body, shared in the responsibility of setting up the program (the first of its kind in the North) which included anyone who wanted to participate.

The program became a co-operative enterprise between Native students, the writer, and the staff of Grandin College. The first problems faced were motivation and the arousal of interest in the Native students so that co-operation would be assured. The solution of these problems was facilitated by the instructor living with the students in the same dormitory, discussing the program with individuals, hanging up large water safety posters, and putting on humorous water safety skits which involved the students. In the writer's opinion, the humorous approach was particularly effective.

After co-operation was assured, the writer was faced with ensuring that the expectations of the students and staff would be met. To accomplish this it was necessary to understand why the Native people do things the way they do. The Red Cross instructor had to be aware of key aspects of the culture of his subjects, e.g., their difficulty with the English language and their desire for immediate results 'because tomorrow takes care of itself.'

It may be relevant to note at this point that the writer, like many of the Native children, spent much of his early life in orphanages, hostels and camps. Also, like the Native child, he learned English as a second language a relatively short while ago. These experiences may have helped considerably in enabling him to empathize with the Native trainees. As the Red Cross leadership training for Native students developed, it became more and more apparent that idealism and enthusiasm, without adequate knowledge about and sensitivity to Native culture, are not enough. Programs developed in Edmonton for Alberta are seldom flexible enough to be imposed on Native dwellers on the North. Although northern settlements are only jet hours from Edmonton, every Red Cross Water Safety instructor has to face basically the same problems that have been referred to above.

Every instructor has to establish a meaningful pattern of communication or fail. In the case of Grandin College, the program outlined briefly above was largely successful. This does not mean everything always went smoothly. In fact, the writer is well aware that severe climatic conditions, such as the long and extremely cold winters that prevail in the North, can create an attitude easily stigmatized as 'lack of interest' or 'apathy'. A hostel supervisor once opined with bitterness that it was useless to teach "them" (meaning the Native youngsters) anything. Nonetheless, by utilizing a fully democratic approach with the trainees, a situation was created which resulted in such great participation that pool hours seemed always to be too short and a seven day program not long enough to accommodate everybody. In the writer's opinion, applying a rigid southern program with expectations of levels of performance for which no Native standard has as yet

emerged, would not have had anything like as good results. Also, a permanent dependency relationship between Red Cross teacher and student, or hostel supervisor and Native, is not conducive to the growth of human development in general and leadership specifically.

The following aspects of the actual program have special relevance to the instruction of Northern Native children.

- chest-deep water (four feet) is ideal for the average Native child
- equipment, such as foam flutterboards, air-filled balls, and a dog, were effectively used in teaching the children how to swim.

Due to the large number of students wanting to learn, the maximum time allowed in the pool was thirty minutes.

Perhaps the most difficult change in instructor attitude centres around the realization that insisting on a particular stroke from the very beginning is like forcing the trainee to attempt to walk upright with balance and control without ever allowing him to crawl and then making his own attempts to walk. Skill in walking, swimming, playing the piano, reciting poetry, or anything else, comes only after considerable practice. Insisting on superior skills too early in the learning process can be very damaging, especially to Native children. Emphasis should be on skill in doing something the learner is capable of doing now.

Swimming, unlike learning other skills, has the built-in possibility of drowning while learning. To create an atmosphere of mutual confidence and trust is a process of growth. Trust of water in Native children develops slowly, perhaps because the children are told at a very early age by their parents that water is dangerous. It was found

that Indian, Metis, and Eskimo students, learn far more from each other through using their own cultural idiosyncrasies than from an instructor, provided, of course, that the goal of the exercise is clearly understood. Therefore, the writer often acted more as a catalyst or coordinator than as an instructor. He paid particular attention to pairing the very strong, highly-motivated, local trainees with the under-achievers. It was found to be important, however, that they be of similar size, age, and racial background. The writer's task changed from dealing with the class as a whole to working with individual pairs. The duration of pair learning proved to be important. Extended periods tended to dampen enthusiasm. The quick learner must be continually stimulated in his main endeavour to bring the laggard up to his own standards. Native children were found to be most co-operative and eager to do this however much trial and error it involved.

A flexible program of pair teaching is a real relief from the conventional instructions given through undemocratic teaching methods. Within the pairing structure, Native children speak in the vernacular and take part in a dynamic way in the teaching-learning process.

The success of pairing in swimming instruction eventually led to pair studying, pair planning, pair assignments, and even pair testing. This self-directing and self-correcting way of learning lessened the teacher's load and started the building up of a common store of local knowledge. Some learning aids which were successfully used in the local training program at Grandin College were black board and chalk; films on swimming, rescue and boat safety; projected slides on the human anatomy; written material on water safety - course kit with text-

book manual, pamphlets on training, etc.; charts, pictures, cartoons, posters, and diagrams; tape recorders; swim posters drawn by older students depicting northern people in northern situations. A water pump was used to explain the function of the heart. The laceration and repair of a waterhose served to demonstrate the bandaging of a cut blood vessel. Role-playing was often indulged in; accidents were simulated and appropriate action demonstrated; victims received artificial respiration by other Native children breathing for them. The program allowed for the leaders-in-training to teach a class of children. Each teaching period was followed by a period of evaluation which later became an effective means of communication between the potential leaders and the writer as instructor, as evidenced by the following samples of questions and answers from a questionnaire which was completed by the trainees.

Question: What I liked about the leadership course.

Answer:

- the swimming
- the enthusiasm of the instructor
- the informality of the course
- the practical things I learned
- listening to the personal experiences of the instructor
- getting to know other persons better
- the close relationship we developed together
- the way the program was run

Question: What I disliked about the leadership course.

- too many participants
- running the pool without the instructor
- lack of real experiences in rivers and lakes
- nothing
- the theory
- when the course work conflicted with the home work for school
- the 'horsing around' of some students
- the shortage of Native people involved

Question: Things I learned at the leadership course.

- Answer:
- how to swim properly
 - how to teach others
 - how to speak in front of a group
 - self-confidence
 - many things
 - to speak in simple language
 - to express myself in public
 - to work as a member of a team

Question: I would like to suggest for other leadership courses

- Answer:
- get more Native people involved
 - get more swimming pools
 - let Native-speaking instructors run the program
 - a central agency informing Native instructors of job opportunities in all northern communities
 - Native people can do a better job knowing the land and the people.

Employment of Trained Native Leaders

Of prime importance to the training program are the opportunities for practicing the newly-developed skills. Once given the chance for employment, the Native instructor compares favourably with his White counterpart. Reports from White pool supervisors praise the competence and patience of the Native instructors.

The town of Fort Smith is setting a precedent in operating its pool with locally-trained leaders. The swimming program at Grandin college employed the Native 'leaders-in-training' to provide swimming instruction for all the children in the hostel.

Following is a list of Native leaders employed in 1971 as water safety leaders or instructors in the N.W.T. Red Cross Water Safety Program:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Henry Beauleau | - from Indian village in Yellowknife, employed as a swimming instructor at the pool in Yellowknife. |
| Jim Antoine | - from Fort Simpson, employed as instructor at the pool "Barge". |

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| James Norbert | - from Arctic Red River, employed as instructor at the pool "Barge". |
| Denny Holman | - from Inuvik, employed as leader at pool in Inuvik. |
| Antoine Grandjambe | - from Good Hope, employed as leader at pool in Inuvik. |
| Earl Jacobson | - from Fort Simpson, employed as Assistant Pool Supervisor in Fort Smith. |
| Laurence Norbert | - from Arctic Red River, employed as waterfront Director with the Camper's Association in Yellowknife and Hay River. |
| George MacKenzie | - from Fort Rae, employed as canoe instructor for the Camper's Association |
| Roderic Fraser | - from Fort Chipewyan, is employed as instructor at the pool in Fort Smith |
| Maurice Cleary | - from Fort Franklin, employed as swimming instructor in Fort McPherson. |

Multiple Benefits From Adhering to Community Development Principles V-VIII

- more grass roots participation at all stages, including decision-making
- improved self-image, motivation and growth
- more personal planning and individual responsibility
- increased interest, learning and activity
- more skills acquired
- Natives more skilled in public speaking
- new needs discovered
- more job opportunities
- inter-personal relations improved
- physical and mental resources developed
- critical self-analysis encouraged
- the community is more prepared for emergency situations

IX. Community Development Should Use Existing Local Agencies

This principle helped eight southern Red Cross Water Safety instructors going North to get 'on with the job' and in many cases, made it easier for the individual to function in a strange environment.

The Red Cross Alberta - N.W.T. Division received financial support from departments and local groups such as the Settlement Councils in the individual communities. Money for the operation and execution of the Northern Water Safety Programs came from the Government of the N.W.T., the Amateur Sports Directorate in Fort Smith, the National Advisory Council on Fitness, and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

Such community organizations as the Housing Associations, the recreation clubs, and the community associations, were utilized effectively in making contacts and developing successfully the various Water Safety Programs.

Communities in the N. W. T. are represented by settlement or hamlet councils. They are elected by the eligible voters in the community. Councils are recognized by the government of the N.W.T. as being competent to speak for the entire settlement, and the government consults with the Council on all matters affecting the community. Settlement Councils are responsible for community administration, budgeting, and policy-making.

Many communities in the N.W.T. had well-developed community organizations in 1964 when the Red Cross programs were first introduced into the N.W.T. A question frequently raised at Red Cross Conferences is how exactly do these existing organizations promote the welfare of the

Red Cross program?

The answer, of course, depends to a large extent on the type of community organization concerned. In the case of a typical settlement, the Council elected by the eligible voters of the community can support the Red Cross program by giving permission for a portable pool to be erected. Settlement Councils share part of the cost of pool operation and maintenance, and in the cases of Fort Simpson, Fort Good Hope, Fort Norman, Norman Wells, Pine Point, and Inuvik, the Councils accommodate the southern Red Cross instructor by finding him a hostel, a teacher's empty apartment, or a private home with room and board.

Settlement Councils are recognized by the government. They represent the people at the grass roots level. In many cases they are entrusted with government grants. The elected body is, to some extent, responsible for community administration, distribution of funds and policy-making. In addition to being the strongest voice in the settlement, the Council's sanction of a program is the best advertisement possible. The real and potential strength of a Settlement Council will only be fully appreciated by an instructor who flies in from a place like Edmonton to Inuvik and after gathering his luggage at the airport, hitch-hikes to the community hall to meet the Settlement Manager who, working with the Council, has hopefully made all the arrangements for his accommodation and the start of the Water Safety Program. He will appreciate its influence again if, becoming deeply involved in the operation of the pool and the teaching of classes, he neglects to keep the Council informed of his activities. The penalty for such neglect may be many frustrating hours filled with attempts to solve problems, which, if

he had collaborated with the Council, might have been solved in minutes or perhaps never arisen at all.

In some parts of the N.W.T., Indian Band Councils are very important organizations, and in cases where a Red Cross instructor operates without their sanction, a valuable resource remains untapped. However, it must be remembered that the Band Council only represents the Treaty Indian not the non-Treaty Indian, Metis, or members of other racial or ethnic groups which might live in the settlement. If the Band Council is really a significant force within the community, then it is usually represented on the Settlement Council.

Recreation committees on the Settlement Council deal directly with the Council and advise on all relevant matters such as swimming.

Housing associations have existed on a number of settlements for several years. Under its constitution, the Housing Association (totally made up of local residents) is empowered to make contracts to deliver water, collect garbage, etc. and is expected to advise on the location of any new building. In the case of the Red Cross portable swimming pools, the Housing Associations become involved, according to law, in matters of water delivery, garbage collection, and building location.

With regard to government agencies such as the RCMP, nursing stations, the Department of Transport, other organizations such as churches, and the Hudson Bay Company, the Red Cross instructor, if he has business with them, deals directly with the local representative of the establishment. Any insular tendency to consider the Red Cross program as merely a discrete function of its southern parent branch, working more or less in isolation from the other forces and activities in the community, is

discouraged. The Red Cross uses local agencies as an integral part of its process of participation. Lack of co-operation from a local agency means lack of sanction from a part of the community.

X. Community Development Should Use Trained Specialists

The Red Cross Water Safety program, much like similar organizations, is very much affected by the quality of the personnel recruited and selected for its operation. In the case of the N.W.T., the above principle was strictly adhered to in that every Water Safety instructor going North had his Red Cross and Royal Life Saving Instructor's Certificate, at least the Bronze Medallion and usually several years of experience in running and operating either a swimming pool or a waterfront.

Leading officials who provided helpful service to the N.W.T.'s Water Safety program were the Director of the Alberta-N.W.T. Red Cross Water Safety Division, the Director of the Department of Recreation in the N.W.T., and a lawyer and Red Cross representative at Yellowknife.

The northern program received technical advice from the Regional Engineer and the Territorial Engineer from the Department of National Health and Welfare.

A recreation specialist, a swim coach for the University of Alberta's swim team and professor with the Department of Physical Education, is responsible for the entire revision of the Red Cross Water Safety manual. His research and practical application of new and advanced techniques in swimming and lifesaving were successfully applied in the N.W.T. Water Safety program.

The Red Cross makes good use of specialists in its Water Safety

program and will continue to do so, but it may be relevant to note here that the effectiveness of specialists in programs of this kind is not limited to technological expertise; other qualities may even be more important. For instance, the writer has observed that all of the leading officials and senior officers referred to above, exhibited the following abilities in varying degrees: they could make sound judgments, get along well with people, meet the vicissitudes of life with composure, plan and organize efficiently, delegate authority, manage others, act vigorously and communicate effectively.

XI. Community Development Should Work with all Members of the Family

The Red Cross, much like the YMCA or YWCA, is known for involving the entire family in its programs. The Water Safety Division in southern Alberta offers classes for mother and child, working mothers, grade school children, and business men. There is also public swimming which allows all members of a family to participate.

In the N.W.T. only large service centres like Yellowknife, Hay River, and Inuvik, can boast of all-family Red Cross Water Safety programs. These are largely due to the influence of the white population. The whole family principle is difficult, if not impossible, to enforce in the settlements of the so-called 'hinterland'. It is true that in Indian, as well as in Eskimo cultures, the family is still considered as one economic and social unit, but the fact that children are schooled while most of their parents lack any type of formal education, raises serious difficulties where joint instruction is under consideration.

The Red Cross Water Safety instructors have been very successful in working with the younger members of the Indian and Eskimo families.

However, attempts to involve the entire family have been resisted by Indian parents. In many cases, husbands and wives are in fishing camps during the summer. Another relevant fact is that the Native population tends to look at pools in the same way as they regard skating rinks - as places for recreation, not as places concerned with saving lives. Mainly for the reasons given above, the Red Cross Water Safety program in the N.W.T. has so far failed in its attempts to implement principle XI.

XII. Community Development Should Make Programs as Broad as the Needs of Rural People

Although the Water Safety programs have a positive influence on general health, and there are some functional links with the Departments of Youth and Recreation (through Grandin College and Breynat Hall), there is not as yet in the N.W.T. a government or agency-sponsored co-ordinated plan dealing with all the facets of life into which the Water Safety programs can be integrated.

XIII. Community Development Should Evaluate Continuously

The N.W.T. Water Safety program is only as good as its proven worth. One of the surest way to test a swimmer is by putting him into deep water. That should be evidence enough to prove the value of the purely water safety aspects of the training program. However, the Division has other ways and means of evaluating progress. The standard or yardstick against which the instructor evaluates every step of the training is the appropriate Red Cross Water Safety tests. Starting with tests for beginners and through the more difficult ones for juniors, intermediates, and seniors, each item on the checklist aims at measuring

effectively the levels of knowledge, skills and attitudes.

The battery of tests is concerned with the requirements of a successful swim performance. One of the main problems of evaluation, as seen by the writer, is in the exact definition of what constitutes a "successful swim performance" in the N.W.T. The Red Cross Water Safety Division endeavoured to get some concensus on this by holding examiner clinics for the N.W.T. examiners to highlight the differences between northern and southern conditions. An unduly high number of failures in a particular area is often due to youngsters being pushed prematurely into tests too difficult for their current levels of performance. To avoid such embarrassing situations, all instructors were advised to pre-test their pupils before calling for an examiner.

The Red Cross Water Safety tests now used in the N.W.T. consist of two criteria to measure performance. One is a test of water safety knowledge or water safety theory; the other is an actual swim performance consisting of a variety of strokes executed over varying distances. All tests given evaluate whether or not the "Learn to Swim" program is truly providing the Native non-swimmer with the necessary information and knowledge to assure his safety and the prevention of water accidents.

In the specific case of the leadership training program at Grandin College, the Native leader-in-training runs the entire swim program for one week in his third and final year of instruction. This type of test for Native leaders judges such items as organizing a swim program, operating a portable pool, and teaching a class of local children. The last mentioned item involves scoring and reporting by an independent observer.

The Red Cross Water Safety Division considers evaluation as a very important aspect of their Northern programs.

XIV. Community Development Should Work With all Classes of Society

In the light of the N.W.T. Swimming program, this principle is interpreted by the writer as meaning all the people of the settlement; many ethnic minorities are involved. The Red Cross does not cater to any one particular segment of the population. The swimming program is open to anyone wishing to participate.

With regard to community development, much is said about communication with the underprivileged and insufficient emphasis given to the fact that development of communication and understanding with the over-privileged may sometimes be of crucial importance; often their leadership can play an important part in development.

Participation of all classes was the key word and goal of the N.W.T. Swim program. Compared to the limited attendance of Native people at many other types of social gatherings, the Red Cross program usually drew enthusiastic response from Indians, Eskimos, Metis and Euro-Canadians alike.

Some channels of participation, like sociable interaction are, in a specific case, open to a very limited number of persons; namely those recognized as ones relatives or who qualify as friends. Other channels like jobs and voting, admit people with training, reputability, experience, or who are of requisite age. For channels like the stores, houses and lot ownership, and commercial recreation, would be participants must have funds or enjoy a good credit rating as a prerequisite.¹³

The writer, after many months of experience in the far North, is strongly of the opinion that, unlike football or hockey, which are largely spectator sports, the swimming program which can be participated in by almost

everyone, has been one of the few means that has encouraged the social mixing of Natives, non-Natives, teachers, nurses, government officials, and others.

XV. Community Development Should Keep in Line with National Policies

There is little need to elaborate on this principle. All provincial Red Cross Water Safety organizations are in line with national policies. All pursue the same objectives and their activities are based upon identical principles.

Due to the fact that the N.W.T. are not of provincial status, supervision for the Program came under the Province of Alberta. Funds came from the National Red Cross and the N.W.T. Department of Recreation, and to avoid any charges of patronage or paternalism, the program was officially titled the Red Cross Water Safety Program for the Alberta-N.W.T. Division.

XVI. Community Development Should Use the Community Approach

The programs always start with the formation of a nucleus of concerned people. An approach is made to the community representatives and/or councils and their support sought for a community-wide project. The 'encouragers' in this first step are usually the directors of the Red Cross Water Safety Division and the Department of Recreation.

Most of the organizational phase is spent visiting northern communities and discussing such items as drowning accidents, lack of instructors and facilities, and possible community support for a program. Though, at the beginning, those willing to give time to meetings and discussions are usually very few, the number generally increases rapidly as concrete steps are taken towards the setting up of the pool

and bathing facilities. Incidentally, northern people are little impressed by proposals only. They await action.

The best advertisement for swimming and life saving, in the writer's experience, was the rescue of a small child from drowning in Frame Lake and the subsequent successful application of external cardiac massage and rescue breathing.

One of the first issues that emerges when the Red Cross uses the community approach is the problem of responsibility. All northern communities are required to make a commitment of some kind. Of great significance is the fact that in using the community approach, the Red Cross does not make the entire community responsible for action agreed upon. Responsibility must be assumed by a recreational council of the settlement council. After such a body has made a commitment, the entire community may be involved. In all approaches, local media are made use of.

XVII. Community Development Should Help People Recognize Their Needs

Once the Red Cross was itself aware of the special need for water safety in the North, it concentrated on diffusing this awareness as widely as possible. Helping the people recognize their need was an integral part of the program. Some of the visual aids used were large posters depicting persons in danger of drowning, a boat, overloaded with people, sinking beneath the water, or a non-swimmer in deep water calling for assistance. Appropriate films were also widely used to make the people aware of the dangers that were ever present and the absence of knowledge and skills to combat them. Such films and posters were available to communities free of charge as were other educational

materials - pamphlets, wallet cards, etc.

XVIII. Community Development Should Aim at Economic Independence or Equity

The work of the Alberta Water Safety Division in the N.W.T. is of a 'pump-priming' nature. After having at first provided all the financial assistance, the Red Cross expects increasingly greater contributions from each community. In stage two, the community is requested to pay one-third of the cost. During the third stage of development, many formulas are tested to find the one which best suits the particular community.

In most northern settlements, the third stage of development falls under a grant structure supported by the Territorial Government. For every dollar raised by the community, the government donates a dollar. This may well be criticized as perpetuating continual dependence but one must realize that at present the N.W.T. settlements have neither an economic nor tax base from which money can be extracted. The matching grant structure can thus be seen as a viable alternative to complete dependence and a step toward economic independence.

XIX. Community Development Should be Associated With Research and Teaching

Underwater photography, motion studies, and medical advice from the University of Alberta, are utilized in a systematic manner by the Red Cross Water Safety Division in compiling the information and guidelines that appear in the regularly revised issues of the Alberta - N.W.T. Water Safety manual.

Unfortunately much of the teaching in the N. W. T. is based upon research work done in the south, and, in many cases, the individual instructor has had to improvise new and different approaches to deal with specific northern situations. More research in situ is a need to which greater attention could usefully be given in the future.

XX. Community Development Should be Based Upon Clearly Stated and Understood Objectives

The Red Cross Program in the N.W.T. adheres well to this principle, thus facilitating program planning and evaluation.

FOOTNOTES

¹Joseph Di Franco, A Collection of Principles and Guides, Ithaca: New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, 1958, p. 10.

²George Jacobsen, "Canada's Northern Communities," North-Nord, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968, p. 34.

³Mona Cranna, "Midnight Sun Takes Chill off Swim School," Edmonton Journal, August 28, 1967, p. 25.

⁴Loftus Desmond, "Communications in the North," North-Nord, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970, p. 14.

⁵Fred Bruemmer, "Forerunners of Summerhill," North-Nord, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971, p. 11.

⁶Ibid., p. 15.

⁷Ibid., p. 16.

⁸Joseph Di Franco, A Collection of Principles and Guides, Ithaca: New York State College of Agriculture, Cornell University, 1958, p. 12.

⁹Loftus Desmond, "Communications in the North," North-Nord, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1971, p. 17.

¹⁰Rea Curry, "Swimorama at Payne Bay," North-Nord, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965, p. 34.

¹¹Ross M. Harvey, "Swimming Pools for the Keewatin," Norpinion, Government of the N.W.T., September, 1971, p. 9.

¹²Drowning Statistics, N.W.T., 1969, from Report of Second Annual Water Safety and Portable Pool Workshop, Yellowknife, May 3, 1970.

¹³John J. and Irma Honigmann, Arctic Townsman, Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint Paul University, Ottawa, 1970.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Summary

The thesis has described in some detail the methods used by the Alberta Red Cross Water Safety Division in their programs designed to meet the urgent need for swimming instruction in the N.W.T. of Canada. It has also indicated the principles underlying their methods and the extent to which, wittingly or unwittingly, they have been in keeping with the Community Development principles listed hereunder. Community Development should:

- I. Be Based on Conditions That Exist
- II. Involve People in Action That Promote Their Welfare
- III. Develop Programs Gradually
- IV. Aim Basically at Peoples' Interests and Needs
- V. Use Democratic Methods
- VI. Keep Programs Flexible
- VII. Work Through Understanding of the Culture
- VIII. Use Local Leaders
- IX. Use Existing Agencies
- X. Utilize Trained Specialists
- XI. Work With all Members of the Family
- XII. Make Programs as Broad as Needs of Rural People
- XIII. Evaluate Continuously
- XIV. Work With all Classes of Society

- XV. Keep in Line with National Policies
- XVI. Use the Community Approach
- XVII. Help People Recognize Their Needs
- XVIII. Aim at Economic Independence or Equity
- XIX. Be Associated with Research and Teaching
- XX. Should be Based Upon Clearly Stated and Understood Objectives.

In most cases, these principles as they related to the implementation of the program have been dealt with separately, but it was found to be more useful and meaningful to deal with V-VIII together.

Although in no case can it be said that any principle was fully adhered to, they can be usefully grouped as follows:

- A. Those that were followed to a large extent - Principles III - X, XIII - XVIII inclusive and XX.
- B. Those that were followed to a lesser extent - Principles I, II, XVIII, and XIX.
- C. Those that were hardly followed at all - Principles XI and XII.

Conclusions

There is little doubt that all of the twenty principles listed above are functional and that the Program would have benefitted if all of them had been adhered to more fully. This is not intended to be taken in a derogatory way. On the contrary, it is highly commendable that these principles had been followed to such a large extent.

Apart from swimming instruction which was largely successful, a major problem, as defined in Chapter II, was the development of Indian leadership. This study shows that the unwitting application of many of

Di Franco's principles resulted in giving confidence to a number of potential indigenous leaders. It has resulted not only in increasing the physical skills of some Native people, but also in stimulating them to participate more and more in decision-making and planning. As pointed out in Chapter IV, the Red Cross had little choice in the matter. Distances and language difficulties made graduate program development inevitable, (III). The program was based on the needs of the Indian and Eskimo (XVIII). It involved existing agencies (IX) and worked successfully through consideration of the cultural habits (VII). The training of local leaders (VIII) in a flexible program (V) was mandatory in order to keep in line with National Red Cross policies (XV).

Basic to all assumptions about leadership in Chapter II and the application of Community Development principles in Chapters III and IV is the need to overcome Indian inertia.

Grandin College is now closed. Preparing Native students for university has failed. However, what has not failed are efforts toward increasing the responsibility of the trainee for his own development. None of the participants of the Red Cross Water Safety Leadership Training Programs are presently unemployed or on welfare. It proves that the indigenous leaders in the Water Safety Program were able to at least lead themselves after the completion of the program. Several are now active in the Indian Brotherhood and the Company of Young Canadians. Some are at the Native Teachers' Training College in Fort Smith, while others work with the CBC's Northern Program, and the National Film Board.

The Red Cross Leadership Training Programs seem to have given impetus to personal development in many wider social spheres.

Perhaps from this nucleus of responsible Native young people, some outstanding Native leadership may well develop.

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